

CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

"... promoting the transition to and consolidation of democratic regimes throughout the world."

G/DG Accomplishments FY 1999



U.S. Agency for International Development

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G/DG Accomplishments: FY 1999

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I. OVERVIEW OF CENTER PERFORMANCE

The Center for Democracy and Governance (the Center or G/DG) was founded in May 1994 to support and advance USAID's democracy and governance (DG) programming worldwide. G/DG helps USAID field missions design and implement democracy strategies, provides technical and intellectual leadership in the field of democracy development, and manages some USAID programs directly.

Democratic political development has been an element in USAID programming since the Agency was created by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, with statutory provisions declaring U.S. interests best protected "...in a community of nations which respect individual and economic rights and freedoms and which work together...in an open and equitable international economic system."

U.S. support for democracy became a central pillar of U.S. foreign policy during the Clinton Administration. In his State of the Union message on January 25, 1994, President Bill Clinton declared, "Ultimately, the best strategy to ensure our security and to build a durable peace is to support the advance of democracy elsewhere. Democracies do not attack each other. They make better trading partners and partners in diplomacy." This policy statement affirmed the facts in the field: USAID had become a leading player in the extraordinary effort to help build democracies around the world—signifying the historic post-Cold War shift from containment of communism to supporting democratic expansion as a major goal of U.S. foreign policy, including development assistance policy.

As part of this explicit commitment, USAID made "building sustainable democracy" one of six strategic objectives crucial to achieving both sustainable development and advancing U.S. foreign policy interests. These others include encouraging broad-based economic growth, protecting the environment, stabilizing world population growth and protecting human health, supporting human capacity development, and providing humanitarian assistance. Because democratic institutions are key to a well-functioning modern society and government, USAID believes there are direct links between pluralism, good governance, and sustainable long-term economic and social development.

The Center was established as a focal point for achieving the DG objective. G/DG provides field support, technical and intellectual leadership, and program management in the fast-paced field of democracy development. The Center also set out to encourage cross-fertilization among DG programs in different regions.

G/DG follows the Agency in using four categories to describe its DG activities: rule of law (including human rights), elections and political processes, civil society, and governance. It is important to note that this conceptual organization is not meant to be reductive. Democratization is much more organic and complex. In fact, when implementing programs, these categories are not easily separated. For example, the Center's anti-corruption programming aims to improve governance in part by mobilizing citizen action from civil society organizations (CSOs). A successful program to increase the political participation of women helps women's advocacy groups petition the national legislature, thereby improving the accountability of political institutions.

Much of USAID's democracy support program is carried out in partnership with U.S. non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which bring their own expertise, spirit of voluntarism, and private funding sources to the task. Many of these partnerships are also with local organizations in the countries where USAID works. Helping build their institutional capacity and sustainability over the long term is perhaps USAID's most important contribution. Democracy needs to be home-grown with deep roots sunk over time.

USAID's support for democratic governance helps to promote advances towards democratization in 72 country and regional programs. Its purpose is to strengthen public and private institutions of democratic governance; to make integrity, accountability, transparency, and responsiveness to citizens at all levels of governance the norm; to overcome the insidious legacies of authoritarian rule; and to facilitate a deepening of citizen participation and cultural commitment to democratic norms. G/DG has a role to play in making USAID's programs as effective as possible—through engaging in critical U.S. foreign policy priorities and providing technical expertise, field support, and program management to support Agency efforts.

Summary of Center Accomplishments in the Last Year

FY 1999 was a watershed year for the Center. The new USAID Administrator, J. Brady Anderson, reaffirmed and strengthened the Agency's commitment to continued work in democracy and governance, publicly arguing that democracy is the foundation upon which lasting social and economic progress depends. He has taken a number of critical steps to assure that DG programs within USAID have sufficient funding, making the case to the Office of Management and Budget, the U.S. Department of State (State), and the Congress for increased DG funding. More specifically, the Agency took steps to reverse the downward trend of G/DG's operating year budget (OYB)—FY 2000 saw incremental progress back towards an OYB level that would allow the Center to sustain critical functions.

The Center has remained "on track" in meeting its objectives over the last year. It actively engaged in key foreign policy initiatives related to democracy, completed a number of technical publications, provided extensive training to field officers, supported over 38 missions through direct temporary duty assignment (TDY) support and countless others through access to expertise of G/DG staff, and managed field-relevant, rapid-response mechanisms.

Given the intense U.S. foreign policy interest in democracy, the Center has focused on maintaining a targeted involvement in critical U.S. foreign policy processes. In recognition of the role that G/DG has played, senior State representatives voiced their strong support for maintaining and, indeed, augmenting the Center's capacity in the FY 2001 budget request. G/DG has served as coordinator for USAID participation in anti-corruption and rule of law (ROL) inter-agency efforts, and actively participated in the USAID-State assistance coordination working group, the economic support funds (ESF) allocation process for democracy, and preparations for the Worldwide Community of Democracies. Highlights include the following:

- The Center actively supported USAID's work in State's four democracy priority countries: **Colombia, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Ukraine**. It participated in inter-agency assessments, task forces, and the design of strategies and programs, and provided mechanisms for implementation.
- In addition, G/DG is active in the inter-agency committee that negotiates the use of regional ESF DG funds, totaling some \$20 million each in FYs 1999 and 2000. Its ESF experience helped the Center to make critical contributions to the USAID-State assistance coordination working group and the resulting recommendations on increasing collaboration and coordination between the two agencies.
- In other work with State, the Center has actively participated in preparations and contributed funding for the Worldwide Community of Democracies, a secretary of state-led initiative to encourage global consensus on a set of democratic principles. Toward this end, the governments of Chile, the Czech Republic, India, Mali, Poland, South Korea, and the United States convened a June 2000 conference involving the foreign ministries of some 130 countries committed to pursuing a democratic path.
- In response to strong interest from the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee for U.S. government (USG) support to help establish a new Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy, G/DG took the lead for the Agency with the U.S. Information Agency (USIA, now the Office of International Information Programs at State) in developing a support program. The Center ensured timely completion of the entire process, closely coordinating with State and USIA, and keeping Congress informed of the process.
- USAID, and the Center, have been engaged in following up last year's anti-corruption conference convened by Vice President Al Gore and in planning for the second global forum in 2001. G/DG organized a meeting to highlight lessons learned for the USG delegation to the International Anti-corruption Conference in Durban.
- The recently signed Presidential Decision Directive on Strengthening Criminal Justice Systems in Support of Peace Operations in Complex Contingencies (PDD#71) recognized the expertise of USAID and the Center in ROL in post-conflict societies. The PDD tasked G/DG with establishing a partnership with the Department of Justice (Justice) to ensure that rapid-response initiatives also help to lead to sustainable and legitimate justice sector institutions necessary for development of stable democracies. In addition, the Center collaborated with State's senior ROL coordinator in

assessing opportunities in **Indonesia** and **Nigeria**. G/DG represents USAID at inter-agency coordination ROL meetings.

- The Center has been actively supporting the Clinton Administration's new labor initiatives. In addition to managing a \$60 million grant to the American Center for International Labor Solidarity, G/DG is actively involved in the administration's launch of a global anti-sweatshop initiative and to follow through on commitments to adopt and implement core labor standards around the world.
- Center experts have directly been involved with, as well as provided implementation capacity to support, a number of critical electoral processes, including Bosnia, Indonesia, Kosovo, Nigeria, and Peru. The expertise and rapid-response capacity of the Consortium for Elections and Political Processes (CEPPS) partners is highly regarded within USAID as well as by other key USG actors.

The need to gather, disseminate, and apply information and data on lessons learned by USAID and others in the last 15 years of DG promotion has now been widely recognized as absolutely critical. Noted expert Thomas Carothers recently stated in his book, *Aiding Democracy Abroad*, that USAID is demonstrating "learning" in its approach to DG programs. He particularly praised the establishment and efforts of the Center to make USAID's DG programs more effective.

- G/DG continued to break new ground in analyzing and documenting acquired DG knowledge, and providing operational guidance to make DG programs more effective. It disseminated findings in six new handbooks on decentralization and democratic local governance, legislative strengthening, political party development assistance, media, elections and political processes, and strategic assessments, bringing the total number of its technical guidance publications to 10.
- The Center also launched the Agency's DG website, which provides valuable DG program information from all parts of the Agency (G/DG, regional bureaus, and other operating units involved in the DG sector) to the public. During the first two months it was active, the website received over 56,000 hits with 10,000 unique users.
- Training remained a high priority for the Center and field mission representatives lauded the 1999 DG Officers Training Workshop in December. The workshop featured 16 different courses for the 100 plus attendees and was cited as "excellent" by participants. Field officers clamored for even more training opportunities in the future, given the number of U.S. direct hires, personal service contractors, and foreign service nationals who need basic and updated skills and knowledge of DG programming approaches. This was the seventh and largest session conducted by G/DG since 1994; over 280 DG officers have now been trained by the Center.
- The 1999 DG Partners Conference was also praised by partners and field missions for being "timely, relevant, and substantive." Some 275 individuals, including over 100 partners and donor representatives, joined USAID DG officers for two days of lively and fruitful discussions. The Administrator opened the conference and Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor Harold Koh introduced the first session. Participants engaged in substantive discussions on the problems of impunity; USAID-partner relations; managing for results; institutionalizing elections assistance; political party development assistance; civil society strategies assessment; ROL accomplishments; cross-sectoral linkages; gender integration; and making strategic choices with limited resources.

The Center continued to place a high priority on supporting missions through direct advice and expertise on-site and phone/e-mail and by providing mechanisms that can respond rapidly and appropriately to field needs. Last year G/DG mechanisms attracted approximately \$35 million in field mission and ESF contributions, more than three times as much as the Center's core OYB. G/DG is now putting in place second generation procurement mechanisms; 17 new indefinite quantity contracts (IQCs) worth \$300 million have now been awarded.

II. THE CENTER'S SECTOR-LEVEL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

A review organized by the Center's four objectives or DG "sub-sectors" [rule of law (ROL), elections and political processes, civil society, and governance] is provided in the next section. G/DG has also realized significant macro-level achievements that cut across the four sub-sectors.

A. Strategic Assessments

Through its strategy and field support function, the Center helps USAID Missions design, implement, and evaluate democracy development strategies. G/DG staff members often provide on-site assessments of a political transition in order to recommend the best way to help support democratic trends and transitions. The purpose is to help focus democracy dollars on clear, meaningful, and achievable results.

The Center assists missions and other parts of USAID and the USG to define country-appropriate programs to assist in the transition to and consolidation of democracy. To help make strategic decisions on how and when to invest for greatest impact, G/DG has developed a flexible strategic assessment framework designed to analyze country-specific political conditions and craft targeted program interventions. Copies of *Conducting a DG Assessment: A Framework for Strategy Development* were distributed at the 1999 DG Partners Conference, where specific training was held on strategic choices. An introductory session on the framework was also held at the 1999 DG Officers Training Workshop. The document has been heralded both inside and outside the Agency by academics and practitioners as one of the best applications of development assistance theory in the field of democracy. Using this methodology, G/DG staff conducted assessments and helped to develop strategies for a number of countries in FY 1999:

- G/DG efforts focused on providing advice to and designing strategies for State's priority DG countries, especially **Indonesia** and **Nigeria**, where Center staff participated in inter-agency assessments. Democratic transitions are underway in both countries, and their success is critical to USG interests.
- G/DG collaborated with the ANE Bureau to conduct a comprehensive DG assessment, including an analysis of the prospects for ongoing conflict, in **Nepal**. The strategic recommendations were incorporated into the mission's five-year strategic plan.
- The Center sponsored a five-person assessment team to **Peru** that conducted a thorough review of conditions, opportunities, and constraints for democratic development. This report is to serve as the analytical foundation for the mission's five-year DG strategy.

G/DG also provided strategic advice and technical assistance through travel to **Morocco** to work with the mission to develop a DG strategy, to **Kenya** to update its DG strategy, and to **West Bank/Gaza** to conduct a strategic portfolio review. In **Cote d'Ivoire**, G/DG supported the mission by conducting DG assessments, developing strategic priorities, and reaching agreement with the embassy on an implementation plan. Under a Center-managed IQC, the Center provided support to help **Egypt** develop its DG strategy, in particular, its new communities initiative linked to local government service delivery.

G/DG has participated in ongoing efforts to strengthen the Agency's conflict prevention and post-conflict capacities. Working with USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), Center staff have drafted a modified strategic assessment methodology for use in post-conflict environments, as well as provided training for DG officers seeking best practices in post-conflict DG programming. The Center also provided critical support in a number of critical post-conflict countries:

- In the **Democratic Republic of the Congo (DROC)**, the Center collaborated with the AFR Bureau to conduct a comprehensive DG assessment, to develop a transition strategy, and to recommend performance measures. The strategy, endorsed by the AFR Bureau, State, and the National Security Council (NSC), is now being implemented.
- In **Sierra Leone**, the Center managed a strategic assessment for elections and political processes. The recommendations from the assessment were systematically incorporated into the transitional DG

strategy, and G/DG has reviewed other non-democracy parts of the mission's strategy for congruence with and complementarity to DG objectives.

- In **Kosovo**, Center staff directly supported Agency efforts through participating in assessments of immediate post-conflict needs, as well as assessments of needs in the key areas of civil society, elections and political processes, and ROL.

B. Managing for Results

The promotion of democracy is a complex, dynamic process only partially understood. It is not always easy to know if democracy in one place has advanced over short periods of time, and results can be mixed. A country might exhibit a more independent judiciary, for example, the same year that legislative committee hearings are closed to the public. Despite inherent difficulties, USAID is committed to “managing for results” (MFR) and the reasonable monitoring of DG programming through the use of performance measures, both to assess overall program impact and to inform management decisions related to the DG program.

Performance monitoring is a necessary part of good program management. The 1994 Government Performance and Results Act and the work of Vice President Al Gore gave the Agency an official impetus to improve monitoring techniques. The next year, USAID adopted a strategic framework for its core activities: economic growth, democracy, population and health, environment, disaster relief, and human capacity development.

In FY 1999, the Center worked to meet a heavy and widespread demand for information, training, and technical assistance in MFR. G/DG's *Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators*, published last year, was widely disseminated and is being used by missions worldwide. The handbook is the most-frequently accessed document on the Center's internal and external websites. It is also being used by other donors (e.g., Development Assistance Committee countries and U.N. Development Programme) as source material in developing their own performance measures.

The Center trained USAID DG officers on MFR, specifically how to monitor and evaluate impact in this hard-to-measure field. Two four-day MFR training workshops were held in Washington and an E&E regional training program was held in Slovakia.

To help USAID better manage for results in DG programs, G/DG surveyed 25 missions on their MFR practices, their use of performance indicators, and their specific problems in this area. The overwhelming majority of missions recommended that the Center develop qualitative tools in order to complement or replace quantitative measures. As a result, a new G/DG technical leadership agenda item will be to develop qualitative measures appropriate for assessing the impact of DG programs.

At the Agency level, the Center, together with PPC, is leading an effort to improve how USAID presents its DG achievements in the Agency Performance Report (APR) and the Agency Performance Plan (APP). Rather than simply present data from the Freedom House index, the FY 2001 APP sets forth the Agency's decision to use qualitative information on country or sectoral case studies to explore the link between USAID activities and broader democratic change. The Center is working with PPC to carry out these case studies.

G/DG assisted two priority missions to develop performance measures and to manage for results. Staff assisted **Nigeria** to use the recommendations of the inter-agency assessment team to draft a two-year transition strategy, results framework, and corresponding performance indicators. The Center helped **Ukraine** to review its intermediate results and identify appropriate performance measures. Center IQCs were used to assist **Guinea** to refine its results framework to reflect the findings of multiple sector assessments, **Haiti** to design a new ROL program and to design and implement a performance monitoring plan, and **Angola** to evaluate the performance of its civil society activities.

C. Building a DG Technical Cadre

To keep pace with the growing demand for qualified DG officers, the Center put a high priority on USAID personnel-related functions this year. For example, G/DG coordinated recruitment and selection

for the new entry professionals (NEPs). Six NEPs in the DG area joined USAID in September and are now completing their training rotations. Together with USAID's Office of Human Resources, the Center matched NEPs with DG officer supervisors, approved NEP training programs, offered training seminars and workshops, developed criteria for assessing the NEPs' readiness for overseas assignment, and made recommendations on overseas assignments accordingly. The Center also led the recruitment effort that selected an additional five DG NEPs who will join USAID in September 2000.

Continued shortages of DG officers led to a number of mid-level, non-career outside hires, and GS conversions were authorized by the Agency. Using the knowledge, skills, and abilities levels established last year, G/DG reviewed candidates for GS conversions (two candidates approved) and mid-level hires (one candidate hired). Given the urgency of field vacancies, one of the GS conversions has already been assigned to **Nicaragua** and a mid-level hire to **Guatemala**.

G/DG placed Democracy Fellows at missions in **Indonesia, Madagascar, Paraguay, Russia, and South Africa**, as well as at the Center. Fellows helped USAID to apply academic and outside knowledge to its programs, while they gained on-the-ground DG experience.

Approximately 100 DG officers, representing 39 missions and 8 AID/W operating units, participated in the Center's 1999 DG Officers Training Workshop. Intermediate-level participants learned the fundamentals of the USAID approach in each DG sub-sector area, plus strategic assessment. The advanced courses offered 11 different DG topics, including gender and DG results; leveraging the power of labor; conflict prevention, mitigation, and reconciliation; and implementing policy change. To provide training that is more immediate and accessible to many DG officers, G/DG began development of a pilot distance learning module. The first, on anti-corruption, will be delivered to a focus group in 2000.

Publication and dissemination of technical information both inside and outside USAID continued through the work of the G/DG Information Unit. The unit launched, expanded, and improved the internal and external websites, and managed the Center's electronic publications (*Democracy Exchange* and *Democracy Dispatches*), Technical Publication Series, and technical notes series (*Democracy Dialogue*). Tuesday Group continued as a weekly, Agency-wide discussion forum on DG-related issues; summaries of discussions are shared Agency-wide via *Democracy Report*. Since 1994, some 170 Tuesday Groups have been held and *Democracy Reports* issued, and 10 technical publications published. On G/DG's internal website, DG officers can now find a statements of work library, TDY preparation packets, interviewing handouts, details of the Center's procurement mechanisms, and information on DG partners.

D. Cross-cutting Linkages

In FY 1999, the Center continued to emphasize the integration of DG with other sectors.

- G/DG staff authored a short piece, *Activities Across Sectors which Can Contribute to Democracy Building*. In addition, a session on cross-sectoral linkages was held at the 1999 DG Partners Conference, where the Center presented a paper entitled *Participation, Consultation, and Economic Reform: Economic Fora and the DG/EG Nexus*.
- G/DG was represented at a CDIE summer seminar session, and participated in a PPC advisory council meeting on cross-sectoral linkages.
- In the field, direct assistance was provided to **Bulgaria, Haiti, the Philippines, and Tanzania** specifically to explore cross-sectoral programs. In the coming year, the Center anticipates holding a workshop or dissemination event on public-private partnership.
- G/DG has been instrumental in ensuring that the opportunity for HIV/AIDS education and prevention in the workplace is not overlooked in the array of strategies seeking to curtail the pandemic, particularly in Africa. To foster political will for addressing this issue in the context of the illness' implications for economic growth, USAID joined with the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Department of Labor (Labor) to hold a summit of U.S. and African trade unionists. The follow-up to this meeting anticipates active partnerships between employers and unions to prevent new cases while mitigating the plight of those already affected.

E. Disadvantaged Populations

G/DG has directed considerable attention to the support of disadvantaged populations, in particular women. The Center has formed a strong working partnership with the Global Bureau's Office of Women in Development (G/WID) on gender-related programming. For example, G/DG worked with G/WID to develop and implement a DG-gender training module that has been utilized three times in Washington (at the DG and WID training conferences) and at a Regional Center for Southern Africa training conference. This module seeks to help USAID staff better understand how to improve the impact of DG programs through attention to gender and how to better incorporate gender concerns into program management. To emphasize the Center's interest, gender was a key issue discussed at the annual partners conference.

G/DG and G/WID also partnered to help **Romania** identify a strategic opportunity to empower women politically and improve the electoral process in that country by capitalizing on the strength of a notably effective NGO coalition in Romania—a women's health coalition that has the potential to force candidates to discuss policy issues in a manner that no other civil society grouping, except labor, can.

The Center has also used its mechanisms to actively support efforts aimed at disadvantaged populations. In FY 1998 it funded an evaluation of USAID and other donor-sponsored women's political participation programs. The evaluation recommended that future Global Women in Politics (G/WIP)-type program focus on fewer countries and combine assistance and evaluation. Given these analytic results and budget cutbacks, G/DG worked to integrate G/WIP activities into other parts of the DG portfolio. During FY 1999, until the program ended in March 2000, G/DG supported the design and implementation of a post-elections women's advocacy campaign wherein a coalition of NGOs pressed newly elected politicians to address specific issues critical to women. Similar work was supported in Asia where coalitions came together in over half a dozen countries to improve their efforts to address violence against women. These coalitions developed action plans that were refined during and following a regional workshop and then conducted the work necessary to identify and resolve core coalition strategy issues.

Center's efforts aim to mainstream the concerns of disadvantaged populations, in particular women, through all G/DG-funded mechanisms. Recent efforts include the provision of training to women political candidates/campaign staff in **Mexico**, empowerment of women in local government in **Nepal**, development of an anti-trafficking strategy in **Ukraine**, and greater political involvement of women in **Nepal** and **Paraguay**. Studies supported by the Center targeted gender in **Uganda** and disabled populations' access to polling places. The latter has resulted in USAID preparations to integrate the issue into elections programming, particularly in post-conflict countries. A leadership program in the LAC region has encouraged the political participation of youth and indigenous peoples in **Guatemala** and a lower socio-economic class in **Venezuela**.

A Center-supported regional program for promoting women's advocacy and legal rights, being implemented in **Morocco** and **Yemen**, is expected to generate model approaches for advancing gender equality throughout the region. G/DG is also supporting an effort to develop a gender equality index that will assess country-specific gender-based inequalities—as reflected in a country's laws and the application of those laws—and help identify interventions targeted at specific deficiencies in the legal framework or its application.

Outreach to and the inclusion and empowerment of women workers have been integral parts of the Center's core grant to the Solidarity Center. During this reporting period, 48 percent of all participants under this grant were women and approximately one-third of all programs is directed at working women, topics of specific concern to women, or industrial sectors or zones with high percentages of women workers. Issues addressed included leadership training, social services programs, gender violence and harassment, political participation, occupational safety and health, and employment laws and rights.

In addition to the concerted effort to improve the status of women trade unionists globally, the labor program also supported the advancement of other disenfranchised populations such as religious and ethnic minorities and older workers and the prevention of workplace injuries. For example, in **Brazil**, one activity led to the publication of a book providing statistics on workplace injuries and detailing the day-to-day struggles confronting workers as a result of their injuries.

USAID Country and Regional Programs with Democracy and Governance Objectives*

	AFR	ANE	E&E	LAC	TOTAL
Total USAID Missions/other operating units	29	16	25	17	87
Objective 2.1 Rule of Law	Angola, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia	Bangladesh, Cambodia, Egypt, India, Mongolia, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka, West Bank-Gaza	Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Romania, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine	Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela	50
Objective 2.2 Elections and Political Processes	Benin, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Zambia	Bangladesh, Cambodia, Indonesia, Mongolia	Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan	Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guyana, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru	33
Objective 2.3 Civil Society	Angola, Benin, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Bangladesh, Burma, Cambodia, Egypt, Indonesia, Mongolia, Nepal, Philippines, West Bank-Gaza	Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, FRY (Serbia-Montenegro), Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan	Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru	66
Objective 2.4 Governance	Angola, Benin, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Lebanon, Mongolia, Philippines, West Bank-Gaza	Albania, Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan	Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru	52

* Table source: 1999 USAID Agency Performance Report. March 2000 (for total USAID Missions and operating units) and FY 2001 Annual Performance Plan (for objectives by country). Countries reported are those listed in the Congressional Presentation table for the FY 2000 request.

III. ACCOMPLISHMENTS BY OBJECTIVE

Rule of Law: Legal systems operate more effectively to embody democratic principles and protect human rights

In recent years, substantial achievement in legal reform has marked political transitions in Eastern Europe and the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, and parts of Africa and the Middle East. The formerly communist countries, in particular, have passed new civil and commercial codes and a wide range of commercial legislation. The region has witnessed increased independence and greater professionalism of the judiciary. In Latin America, criminal codes have been revised to make the system more effective. In both regions, there is now greater official recognition of basic human rights and greater liberalization of civil and political rights such as freedoms of speech, press, and association. There have also been modest human rights improvements in parts of the Middle East. In Africa, there is great need for stronger ROL systems, but many African countries still lack sufficient political will for legal reform or judicial independence. This situation, sadly, is true in many countries around the world.

In comparing ROL programs across regions, it becomes clear that reform objectives have converged over time: Latin American projects that began with criminal justice have expanded into commercial and administrative law while those in the European countries have moved from commercial into criminal areas.

Having good laws on the books does not always translate into law enforcement. Ethnic conflicts, breaches of public security, political crises, and religious wars still provide the context for flagrant rights abuses. Conflict or post-conflict situations that threaten public security underscore the fragility of government respect for human rights.

Within this environment, the Center addresses ROL problems throughout the world by working to make USAID programming more effective in this field. Agency experience over the last decade with administration of justice programs in Latin America provides many of the valuable lessons from which the Center draws its guidance.

Political will is now widely recognized as an essential prerequisite for judicial reform. Assistance, however, can have an impact if various constituencies for reform—judges themselves or bar associations or other civic groups—are empowered. Another key lesson concerns reforming the criminal justice system. Police, prosecutors, judges, and defenders each play a unique part and reform must involve them all. The system itself must be treated as an organic whole. To train the police without training prosecutors and judges, for example, renders a lopsided system which stymies smooth and efficient functioning.

1. Program Status

Interest in ROL has grown within USAID as well as in inter-agency processes. President Clinton recently signed a decision directive, on strengthening criminal justice systems in complex emergencies, that recognizes the important role USAID, and in particular the Center, plays in ROL programming. G/DG is regularly involved with State and Justice on inter-agency assessments and other efforts to strengthen justice sector institutions. The Center has spent significant time designing and/or implementing ROL programs in **East Timor, Indonesia, Mongolia, Morocco, and Nigeria**, as well as in **Burundi, DROC, and Rwanda** as part of the Great Lakes Justice Initiative (GLJI).

2. Statement of Purpose

Respect for ROL and development of a well-defined and functioning justice system are essential underpinnings of a democratic society and modern economy, as they curb the abuse of power and

authority, provide the means to equitably resolve conflicts, and foster social interaction in accord with legal norms and gender equality. Approximately one-quarter of all appropriated resources requested by USAID for DG promotion will be expended in support of ROL programs. USAID Missions with a ROL objective now number 50. Missions implement ROL activities to address fundamental problems of public disorder and lack of security, over-concentration of political power, systemic abuses of official power, inequality before the law and impunity, and the absence of effective dispute resolution mechanisms.

In order to strengthen USAID programming and reinforce field-based efforts in the ROL area, the Center identifies lessons learned and provides strategic approaches and technical expertise to establish, improve, and strengthen ROL systems to operate more in accordance with democratic principles, including improving access to justice, administration of justice, and protection of human rights. To do this, G/DG designs and manages implementing mechanisms, develops and disseminates technical guidance, carries out assessments, and assists the missions in drafting ROL strategies.

3. *Key Results*

Foreign Policy. The Center has built strong working relationships with State's ROL coordinator and Justice, and has participated in inter-agency meetings to strengthen coordination among various USG agencies involved in ROL. Successful inter-agency coordination and collaboration are vital to achieving U.S. foreign policy objectives.

- The recently signed Presidential Decision Directive on Strengthening Criminal Justice Systems in Support of Peace Operations in Complex Contingencies (PDD#71) explicitly acknowledges that “in the increasingly global world, U.S. national security and other interests are inescapably linked to the effectiveness of foreign criminal justice systems.” PDD#71 recognizes USAID's unique abilities to ensure that rapid-response initiatives also help to lead to sustainable and legitimate justice sector institutions. USAID, and specifically the Center, is charged with forming a strategic partnership with Justice under the overall leadership of State's Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs to coordinate developmental assistance, emergency planning, and rapid-response activities related to justice in post-conflict situations.
- G/DG was active on the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP) advisory committee, which studied strategic planning, integration of police activities with justice sector reform assistance, and inter-agency coordination. A committee report to senior officials at State, Justice, and USAID resulted in improvements in ICITAP's strategic planning and coordination with other agencies. The Center also participated in the selection of a new ICITAP director.
- G/DG continued to collaborate with State's senior ROL coordinator and State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL) on the development of justice sector strategies in various foreign policy priority countries, such as **East Timor, Indonesia, Kosovo, Nigeria, and West Bank/Gaza**. G/DG staff also carried out assessments and designed programs in **Burundi, DROC, and Rwanda** for the GLJI.
- G/DG instruments were tapped by State/DRL to assist, at the request of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, in documenting human rights abuses in **Kosovo**; and providing the Council of Europe's Venice Commission with an assessment of the merits and modalities of merging the **Bosnia Herzegovina (BiH)** Human Rights Chamber with the BiH Constitutional Court, as anticipated by the Dayton Peace Agreement.

Technical Expertise. By sharing its technical expertise in FY 1999, G/DG reached out to other donors and ROL practitioners in order to share strategic approaches and lessons learned.

- The Center developed a draft strategic design framework for ROL assistance. Based on *Weighing in on the Scales of Justice*, it was designed in part to capture the best practices and lessons learned from USAID's worldwide ROL programming over the past 15 years, and to help DG field officers weigh programming options. As part of its annual training workshop, G/DG designed and delivered its first formal training on the framework.
- G/DG agreed to support its U.S. NGO partners in developing a variety of analytical tools for diagnosing country-specific prospects for ROL reforms. The judicial independence project, which seeks to identify strategic approaches to designing and managing programs that effectively promote judicial impartiality, has already generated a high level of interest among experts and practitioners in and outside USAID.

Field Support. G/DG provided direct support to **DROC, Jamaica, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Rwanda, West Bank/Gaza**, and the Caribbean, and contributed rapid-response action to **Burundi, Kosovo, Morocco, and Nigeria**.

- The leading results of these efforts include a pilot test in **Mongolia** of ROL strategic planning. G/DG staff successfully tested the concept of ROL strategic planning by facilitating the development of the government of Mongolia's long-term vision for sectoral reform and donor coordination. The resulting national justice sector strategic plan identifies reform priorities, defines donors' roles and responsibilities, and addresses sequencing.
- In **Morocco**, Center staff designed and drafted the commercial law aspects of the mission's economic growth strategy, which was approved. G/DG will assist the mission in designing and negotiating assistance for Morocco's new commercial and administrative courts.

Program Management/Direct Development Impact. Implementing mechanisms have been effective in meeting a variety of Agency needs, both by field missions and regional bureaus. In addition, State has relied on their rapid-response capability to address foreign policy priorities. Over \$10 million has already been programmed through the leader with associates cooperative agreements, which proved to be in high demand and were used in all four regions, including in such countries as **Bosnia, DROC, Kosovo, Latvia, and Morocco**.

Center IQCs were used to implement activities in countries including **Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Malawi, Mongolia, Nepal, Paraguay, Russia, and Rwanda**, as well as in the Caucasus. Through an inter-agency agreement with the U.S. Federal Judiciary, strategic planning and budgeting assistance is being provided to the **Nigerian** judiciary and legislature. This is expected to lead to the initiation of a comprehensive ROL program. A grant to the International Development Law Institute continued to generate positive results in **Bulgaria, Laos, Madagascar, and Mongolia**. Judicial benchbooks, developed under the grant, are being used to promote greater transparency, predictability, and accountability in the judiciary.

4. Performance and Prospects

The Center is meeting its stated targets, as demonstrated by the results discussed above. It has drafted a ROL strategic framework, which was presented for the first time during the 1999 DG Officers Training Workshop. Rather than pilot testing the framework in El Salvador, a decision was made to continue developing the framework and to choose a country case study for the framework in this coming year. In addition, G/DG completed negotiations on three new ROL IQCs, renewed the participating agency service agreement with Justice, drafted a ROL training module, increased participation in inter-agency coordination and cooperation, and continued to give high priority to meeting the growing demand from missions in assessment, program design, implementation, and performance measurement.

During the fiscal year the Center welcomed a new senior ROL technical advisor and a Democracy Fellow. This enabled G/DG to renew its efforts in analysis and documentation in the ROL area. In the coming year, the Center will compile a region-by-region record of ROL activities in order to construct a record of past accomplishments and provide a baseline against which to assess future impacts.

Training will involve the development of region-specific sessions (to be offered twice per year starting in 2001), in addition to a 2000 DG Officers Training Workshop session. The Center will also develop training modules to complement the strategic framework discussion by providing in-depth guidance on distinct technical aspects of ROL programming.

Related technical leadership efforts will promote the building of consensus among practitioners and experts as to strategies and implementation activities that have been effective in ROL promotion. This will be pursued through seminars and conferences related to continuing work to refine and test the strategic design framework for ROL assistance, and the judicial independence project. The draft framework will be refined and finalized this year. G/DG will also refine the draft court and case management manual to increase its relevance to the field.

Analytical efforts led by the Center's partners are generating regional workshops and discussions on ways in which legal service providers can play a more strategic role in expanding access to justice and improved enforcement of legal judgments. Findings from regional legal service practitioners fora will be published and will provide guidance on designing more strategically oriented legal services. In addition, partners are developing diagnostic tools to measure the compatibility of a country's legal framework with the fundamental human rights acknowledged in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; a tool to evaluate the effectiveness of human rights defenders' promotion and protection of human rights; and a gender rights and equality index that will offer a template for surveying the status of women as reflected in a country's legal framework and for the interpretation and application of that framework.

5. *Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies*

The Center's ROL mechanisms comprise two inter-agency agreements with the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Federal Judiciary (Judicial Conference of the U.S. Courts), and two leader with associates cooperative agreements led by Freedom House and the International Foundation for Election Systems. Associates to these latter agreements are the American Bar Association's Central and Eastern European Law Initiative, International Human Rights Law Group, and National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. A grant to the International Development Law Institute remains in place with support provided by field missions. IQCs that expired during this fiscal year included those with Amex International, Chemonics International, Conflict Management Group, and National Center for State Courts. New IQCs have been recently awarded to Management Systems for Development, the National Center for State Courts, and University Research Corporation--The IRIS Center.

Elections and Political Processes: Political processes, including elections, are competitive and more effectively reflect the will of an informed citizenry

Free and fair elections are indispensable to democracy, but elections alone do not yield democracy. Although other elements of democracy can develop before competitive elections are held, a country can not be truly democratic until its citizens have the regular opportunity to choose their representatives.

Elections can be a democracy-building tool to take advantage of political openings and expand political participation. In recent years, elections have been a principal vehicle for democratization, as authoritarian governments increasingly have fallen to democratic forces. Electoral campaigns also tend to foster political liberalization. For an election to be free and fair, certain civil liberties, such as freedoms of speech, association, and assembly are required. Elections offer political parties and civic groups an opportunity to mobilize and organize supporters and share alternative platforms with the public.

Elections are often seen as a step towards resolving conflict following years of civil war. In many parts of the world, armed movements have agreed to put down weapons in exchange for the opportunity to contest power in fair elections.

USAID programs are designed to help ensure that elections are competitive and reflect the will of an informed citizenry, and that political institutions are representative and responsive. In countries where an election can help spur or accelerate a transition to democracy, the institutional capacity to carry out elections is often weak. Election commissions may not yet exist or they may lack the technical capacity or political will to administer a fair election. Electoral laws may be antiquated and require major revisions. Legislators drafting a new law may lack sufficient knowledge of electoral systems and practices.

In such countries, citizens will likely be unaware of their rights and responsibilities as voters and political participants. They may be unfamiliar with the mechanics of voting or the range of parties and candidates from which they can choose. Independent civic groups, if any exist, will lack the resources to educate citizens and press for democratic reforms.

Some countries have held a series of widely accepted elections, but nonetheless have failed to develop representative political institutions for a variety of reasons. Political parties in countries across the globe are viewed as distant, elite organizations unable or unwilling to articulate or represent most citizens' concerns. Many are personality-based or lack the organizational capacity to campaign nationwide, present ideologically compatible candidates, and recruit and train poll watchers.

Women and ethnic and religious groups are often excluded from political participation. Newly elected officials frequently need training and other support to effectively staff, administer, and oversee government agencies and fulfill their roles as representatives in a democratic system.

After much experience, USAID has refined its ability to address these issues. The job involves pre-election assessments; training election commissioners, elected officials, poll watchers and local and international observers; buying and producing election equipment from ballot boxes to the ballots themselves; helping governments and citizens develop civic education programs; and planning how to protect and count the ballots as quickly as possible. It is a big job—transferring skills and new values—for which many transitional countries are minimally prepared.

Because USAID strives to support electoral events as part of a broader political picture, pre-election and post-election assistance is also emphasized as part of a long-term strategy to ensure that reforms are sustainable. The Center therefore focuses on strengthening electoral commissions, political parties, civic groups, and newly elected government bodies in order to promote long-term institutional development.

1. Program Status

Elections and political processes continue to attract considerable interest within the USG, and the Center has responded rapidly to key foreign policy priorities and to field requests for sustainable political process

assistance in a number of critical countries including **Croatia, Indonesia, Kosovo, Mexico, Nigeria, and Peru**. The CEPPS mechanism continues to be in high demand in these and other countries, absorbing approximately \$12 million in assistance during the fiscal year. G/DG published and disseminated extensive technical guidance on political party development assistance and managing assistance in support of elections and political processes.

2. Statement of Purpose

Elections are the ultimate means by which citizens hold their government accountable. Elections can also be a primary tool to expand political openings, increase citizens' political participation, and offer political parties and civil society organizations an opportunity to mobilize and organize supporters and develop alternative platforms with the public. About 10 percent of all FY 2001 appropriated funds requested by USAID for DG promotion is likely to be expended in support of elections and political processes. USAID Missions with elections and political processes objectives now number 33.

In order to strengthen USAID programming and reinforce field-based efforts in the elections and political processes area, G/DG develops strategic approaches and program support to assist elections administration activities in an impartial and professional manner; train local organizations to monitor elections and educate voters about their rights and responsibilities; improve citizen representation within political parties; and train newly elected legislators and local officials. To do this, the Center designs and manages new implementing mechanisms, develops technical leadership materials, carries out field assessments, and assists the field in writing election strategies. G/DG's approach focuses on institutionalizing and sustaining democratic electoral and political processes.

3. Key Results

Foreign Policy. The Center consistently demonstrated its capacity to support and influence key foreign policy objectives by designing, funding, and implementing new elections-related programs, often in a fast-paced environment. This is due in large part to its CEPPS mechanism, which is recognized within USAID, and at State and the NSC as a mechanism that can quickly provide critical assistance to foreign policy priorities. In addition, given their strategic and programmatic expertise, Center personnel have been increasingly asked by other USG offices to participate in critical foreign policy electoral initiatives.

- Continuing on last year's involvement in providing technical expertise to the elections component of the **Kosovo** peace negotiations, this year G/DG staff played a key role in designing programs and ensuring speedy implementation of DG-related reconstruction programs in Kosovo, in coordination with OTI. Center personnel helped to formulate election/civil registration activity immediately following the cessation of the conflict. This work ensured that there was a rapid-response team on the ground soon after the bombing ended. Subsequently, a stalled election process was revived through development of an election implementation plan. USAID's quick-response mechanisms enabled immediate deployment of political party trainers and assistance following the conflict.
- Citizen confidence in pivotal **Indonesian** parliamentary elections was achieved through organization of an international observation mission, managed under Center mechanisms and including G/DG staff, and issuance of impartial reports on the process.
- In **Nigeria**, Center mechanisms were used to provide USG assistance for voter education, elections administration, and political party and civil society poll-watcher training. G/DG staff also participated in an election observation team. Without the CEPPS mechanism, this assistance could not have been provided nationwide in time for the elections.
- Through Center mechanisms, post-election programming in **Indonesia** and **Nigeria** has bolstered the transition to democracy in those two fragile countries, which held breakthrough elections this year. For example in Nigeria, G/DG efforts ensured that President Olusegun Obasanjo's request for a

good governance seminar for the full cabinet and senior executive officials resulted in an NGO team on the ground in just four days. Training curriculum and the facilitators' guide were created through a process that involved U.S. governance experts and Nigerian academics/trainers and National Assembly staff members. The resulting three-day highly-lauded training workshops on good governance were conducted over a two-week period in 16 sites throughout Nigeria for 360 newly elected House of Representatives members, 109 Senate members, and 940 state legislators.

- Center staff worked with the **Russia** mission to craft the embassy's policy for U.S. grantees in response to a newly approved electoral law—a highly sensitive situation in terms of U.S.-Russian relations as well as USAID-NGO relations.

Technical Expertise. G/DG shared its technical expertise in this subject area through publication and dissemination of technical documents, and design and delivery of subject-specific training.

- As part of its Technical Publication Series, the Center published new elections and political processes guidance. *USAID Political Party Development Assistance* was distributed to USAID DG field officers and used in providing guidance to **Haiti, Mozambique, and Serbia**. An issue of *Democracy Dialogue* was also published on the subject and distributed to a wider, external audience.
- Also published in the series was *Managing Assistance in Support of Political and Electoral Processes*. The document, which summarizes results from case studies of USAID experience and relevant studies, updates USAID's technical guidance in the elections and political process area, including assistance for political party development, elections administration, local elections, and the immediate post-elections period.
- The Center hosted discussions on elections and political processes issues at its annual partners conference and DG officers training workshop, as well as an elections-specific workshop held in September. During the training workshop, G/DG staff led two seminars on elections and political processes assistance. For its partners, the Center moderated and served as panelists on sessions addressing the institutionalization of elections assistance and provision of political party development assistance.

Field Support. In addition to those missions mentioned above, Center staff provided on-site support to several other USAID Missions in the form of long- and short-term TDYs, as well as direct assistance from Washington. Implementing mechanisms developed and made available to the field by G/DG continued to provide rapid-response capability.

- G/DG provided six weeks of direct support in **Croatia**. Prior to critical breakthrough elections there, Center staff assisted the mission by identifying gaps in its assistance to local NGOs involved in the "get out the vote" campaign, and by developing post-elections ROL and local government programs. This ensured that the mission was poised to implement new programs in support of the newly elected reformers immediately following elections.
- The Center provided guidance and support to the mission in **Uganda** on programming options to support a fair and open debate and referendum on the issue of whether to re-introduce political parties.
- G/DG staff traveled to **Bosnia** to support the mission's elections programming by helping analyze the results of municipal elections and implications for USAID programs.
- The primary vehicle for the delivery of G/DG assistance in elections and political processes remained the Center's cooperative agreement with CEPPS. Missions that accessed CEPPS in FY 1999 include Benin, Bosnia, Croatia, DROC, Guinea, Indonesia, Kosovo, Liberia, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Panama, Peru, South Africa, Uganda, and

Zimbabwe. In **Bosnia**, CEPPS partners were engaged in mobilizing the first domestic, multi-ethnic NGO election monitoring effort. In **Peru**, pre-election assessments identified flawed electoral processes and less than democratic environments under which elections were to be held. Democratic opposition political parties in **Croatia** received technical assistance and training in public opinion analysis, message development, communications strategies, and coalition building.

Program Management/Direct Development Impact. With the significant increase in the use of CEPPS, improved systems to sustain quality program management are being put into place. Additionally, to ensure that missions have mechanisms to use for political process programming, G/DG is lifting the ceiling and adding a year to the current CEPPS cooperative agreement. CEPPS usage has remained steady over the past three years, garnering close to \$12 million in mission buy-ins each year.

- In FY 1999, Center funding made possible the development of handbooks on political party building, media monitoring, parallel vote tabulation, civic organizing, best practices in citizen participation and in legislative development, elections methodologies and standards, and lessons learned in promoting legal and constitutional reform for free and fair elections. Publication of these documents is expected next year.
- The Administration and Cost of Elections project (ACE), implemented with G/DG funds, is a unique on-line elections planning database produced in partnership with the United Nations (U.N.) and International IDEA. This project (www.aceproject.org) is notable in that it allows for greater self-sufficiency, cost-effectiveness, and sustainability of election administration efforts. Over 5,000 copies of the CD-ROM version of ACE were distributed in 1999, and French and Spanish versions are due to be distributed shortly, thereby increasing the access of this information beyond English speakers and people with access to the Internet. USAID funding this year will expand the information on ACE to include a module on media—a critical aspect of ensuring free and fair elections—and will work to make the project sustainable without future USAID funding.
- G/DG continues to support the F. Clifton White Resource Center, which houses comprehensive information on elections and political processes worldwide through a collection of primary documentation. This year the resource center was used by **Mexico's** Federal Electoral Institute in planning for Mexico's upcoming elections, and by the Washington Office of the Kurdistan regional government to help develop materials for use by Kurdish officials in Iraq for their upcoming municipal elections. As IFES seeks alternative funding resources, the Center will be decreasing its funding.

Cross-fertilization between countries has been promoted through Center programs. For example, the budding Association of African Election Authorities, led by the president of the **Ghanaian** election commission, reinforced ties within the region when it observed the Nigerian elections this year. Through another activity implemented through G/DG mechanisms, **Guinean** political party leaders issued a joint declaration highlighting lessons learned following a visit to Morocco. The declaration, focusing on inter-party relations and internal party democracy, was a significant step in fostering inter-party dialogue and cooperation among polarized political actors.

G/DG support to the Latin American Political Leadership Academy through CEPPS has bolstered young leaders in **Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, and Venezuela**, enabling democratic renewal within political parties. In various world regions, the Center is fostering associations of election authorities and officials as a way of networking and building intra-regional cooperation to promote and sustain effective election administration beyond USAID assistance.

For **Nigeria's** breakthrough elections this year, the Center provided quick-response assistance to the Independent National Electoral Commission to carry out elections. G/DG also supported the deployment of international election observation missions as part of a multi-donor effort that significantly enhanced electoral transparency, government accountability, and Nigerian consensus on the elections'

outcome. Center funding has also begun to lay the groundwork for a strengthened national assembly, better executive-legislative relations, and improved electoral administration capacity.

Advanced skills training for political parties in **Bosnia and Herzegovina** (BiH) better prepared the democratic opposition for upcoming elections. In addition, the Center-supported formation of the Election Officials Association is a step towards BiH ownership of electoral administration in what previously has been an internationally-led effort. Funding to support institution-building with the leading coalition in **Mongolia** has helped keep it together and enable it to pass significant anti-corruption and ethics legislation.

4. *Performance and Prospects*

The Center continued to meet its targets including the provision of rapid election assistance to key countries, publication of new elections and political process technical guidance, concentration of CEPPS core funds on bi-lateral programs of high foreign policy interest, and awarding two new IQCs in political processes. G/DG is meeting other objectives such as publishing concept and case study technical guidance, supporting its partners to innovate new approaches in the field, and ensuring the sustainability of the ACE and F. Clifton White Resource Center.

During the fiscal year, G/DG welcomed a new senior elections and political processes technical advisor and two Presidential Management Interns to replace staff who left the Center. Focus has been on establishing a better management tracking system for CEPPS and the new IQCs, and a proper closeout of the CEPPS agreement. G/DG expects a wider dissemination of its elections manual and political party development assistance paper to integrate more effectively lessons learned into USAID's democracy assistance. Building on the political party development manual, G/DG, working with PPC, hopes to formalize the Agency's position on such assistance. The Center expects to continue to respond rapidly and strategically to increasing political imperatives in elections and political processes. Finally, the Center will continue to update its training modules in elections and political processes for the annual training conference.

5. *Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies*

G/DG's elections and political processes implementing mechanisms comprise one cooperative agreement and two IQCs. The CEPPS cooperative agreement includes the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), the International Republican Institute, and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. An IQC with IFES was active during this fiscal year, and new IQCs have been awarded to IFES and Development Associates. During the fiscal year, G/DG also managed a cooperative agreement with The Asia Foundation to support G/WIP, which expired in March 2000.

Civil Society: Informed citizens' groups effectively contribute to more responsive government

The independent, non-governmental realm of citizen activity is termed civil society. As the nexus for participation in governance, civil society is essential in a democracy for political expression and influencing government policy choices. In the broadest sense, all support to NGOs, be they agricultural cooperatives, women's health care associations, or business associations, can be considered support for civil society development. Hopefully, in the long term, such support will help build the broad base for democratic development. However, given the scarcity of funding for democracy programs, USAID has chosen to target democracy funding to organizations that enter the public policy arena, the so-called "politically active" or advocacy CSOs, media support, and labor.

The Agency supports CSOs whose advocacy efforts give voice to citizens and expand their influence on the political process. Strengthening civil society is increasingly seen as a way to counterbalance the exercise of excessive authority by governments and economic and political elites, and as a way to encourage more open dialogue about public policy matters too often decided behind closed doors. A vibrant civil society can even provide recourse to justice through the work of human rights groups, especially in post-conflict situations.

To design civil society development strategies, the Center first identifies the major DG issues in a country, then assesses the prospects for the development of reform agendas addressing those issues. The role of civil society becomes important in advancing the reform agenda through advocacy: informing public opinion, mobilizing constituencies and coalitions for reform, and engaging government and political parties in policy debate.

Leading CSO candidates are human rights and pro-democracy groups, professional associations, religious institutions, labor unions, and think tanks. A critical component of any civil society strategy would include a focus on enhancing a free and independent media. Often, service delivery-oriented NGOs become active in civic or political affairs on policy issues of special interest to them or in times of national crisis.

As the Center sees it, USAID's efforts to strengthen civil society are organized into five focus areas: creating a legal framework (often called an enabling environment) to protect and promote freedom of association and expression; increasing citizen participation in the policy process; increasing the financial viability of CSOs; enhancing the free flow of information, especially through support for independent media; and promoting democratic political culture. Trade and industry associations are becoming more active in pressing for good governance as part of democratization, while religious organizations and labor unions have long been at the forefront of campaigns for human rights and social reform. G/DG is also interested in the role of civil society constituencies as participants in economic reform.

The Center makes a distinction between programming which supports civil society writ large, and civil society programming which fits into a democracy strategy. The focus is not how to encourage the growth of CSOs for their own good, but how to encourage elements of civil society to play a role in promoting certain kinds of democratic change. Similarly, USAID has undertaken civic education programming around the world on the assumption that democracy requires citizen participation and participation requires knowledge about one's rights and responsibilities. Research initiated by G/DG suggests that civic education programs must be linked to tangible opportunities for participation, not just theoretical lessons in democracy.

1. Program Status

Strengthening civil society continued to receive a high degree of interest within and outside of USAID. Last year, World Trade Organization fora and initiatives such as "no sweat" propelled worker rights issues up the development agenda, and the Center actively participated in USAID's policy and

programmatic response. G/DG continued its involvement in media development, which is part of the G8 initiative and is of increased interest to international financial institutions. The Center also provided critical support to key countries including **Indonesia**, **Kosovo**, **Nigeria**, **Ukraine** and progressed on completing civil society and civic education assessments.

2. Statement of Purpose

The capacity of civil society organizations to effectively advocate on behalf of political reform is a key element in contributing to successful democratic transitions. Slightly more than one-third of all appropriated resources requested by USAID for DG promotion is likely to be expended in support of civil society programs. USAID Missions with civil society objectives now number 66.

The Center develops, evaluates, and disseminates new and improved strategic approaches and methodologies for supporting civil society. The program addresses the legal and regulatory environment for NGOs, labor, and the media; institutional capacity-building; effective advocacy techniques; and strengthening of democratic political culture through education of citizens on rights and responsibilities in a democracy. G/DG's work in the civil society area is carried out through the design of new implementing mechanisms, development of new technical leadership materials, assistance to missions in carrying out DG assessments and designing programming strategies, and provision of other field support.

3. Key Results

Foreign Policy. The Center provided technical assistance in the civil society area to three of the USG's four democracy priority countries. It also supported USG initiatives on working conditions and labor standards, and on raising awareness of press freedom issues.

- G/DG has been actively supporting Clinton Administration efforts to launch a \$4 million global anti-sweatshop initiative. As the developing countries begin to compete in the global economy, they often define their competitive advantage as inexpensive labor, enticing large multi-national corporations to replace existing relationships with suppliers in countries with better working conditions and pay with new ones which rely upon exploitative working conditions, initiating a global race to the bottom. The anti-sweatshop initiative is intended to address this problem through its focus on the improvement of working conditions in developing country factories that produce goods for the U.S. consumer market. The Center has been instrumental in shaping the policy objectives, program content, and identifying country candidates for targeted intervention.
- G/DG has also been actively engaged in the administration's commitment to the adoption and implementation of core labor standards around the world, within the trade arena, in technical assistance to developing countries, in coordination of activities with Labor, and in the examination of the labor diplomacy program by the secretary of state.
- The **Indonesia** mission received assistance in designing a DG strategy for the pre-election period and G/DG participated in an inter-agency team to design a post-election DG strategy, all of which featured a major emphasis on strengthening civil society. The Center provided field support to the **Ukraine** mission leading up to the October 1999 presidential election, and is providing ongoing technical support on civil society programming to mission assessment teams. G/DG participated in an inter-agency team in the design of the DG strategy for **Nigeria** and assisted the **Kosovo** mission in developing a broad-based DG strategy that includes civil society strengthening.

Technical Expertise. The Center shared its technical expertise in the civil society area through design, production, and dissemination of technical publications, and workshops. USAID staff and a larger audience of partners, donors, and individual academics and practitioners equally benefited from this effort.

- The Center launched a civil society strategy assessment exercise designed to update the general guidance last issued in *Constituencies for Reform*, which was published by PPC/CDIE in 1996 and reflected experience of the early 1990s. The Agency has by now accumulated a much richer and more extensive experience in this vital area, and needs to re-examine its strategic approach to civil society, modifying and amending where needed. To date, G/DG has conducted field studies in **Bolivia, El Salvador, and Mozambique** and anticipates undertaking studies in three more countries. The findings from this work will be combined with those stemming from earlier studies in the E&E and LAC regions to produce a synthesis report laying out G/DG's strategic thinking on civil society assistance for the coming decade.
- G/DG's assessment of civic education impact, begun in FY 1998, finished its final country study in **South Africa**, which largely confirmed earlier findings from the **Dominican Republic and Poland**. All three studies found that civic education initiatives can have some impact on participation, but less on democratic competence and values, implying that future programs should focus on situations where training can link to involvement in political activity. A synthesis report will be forthcoming.
- The Center convened a meeting of civil society representatives in the LAC region to examine the role of organized labor at the intersection of USAID's economic growth and DG activities. This workshop, combined with the results of a similar meeting in Washington, DC and field studies in Asia and Africa, will contribute to the development of a technical publication on incorporating organized labor in development strategies for consolidating democracies and sustaining long-term economic growth.
- For the 1999 DG Officers Training Workshop, G/DG staff organized training on advocacy and media support strategy, and led training on civil society strategies and on labor. A session on civil society strategies assessment at the 1999 DG Partners Conference provided a forum for Center to elicit feedback from its partners on the assessment.
- As part of its Technical Publication Series, G/DG published *The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach*. It used the document to assist USAID Missions in making informed decisions with regard to programming in media development activities. The Center also is facilitating communication between media development professionals, USG, and international financial institutions to assign a higher priority to press freedom in the context of economic growth and democratic development.
- G/DG contributed to the publication of E&E Bureau's *Lessons in Implementation*. As part of this exercise, Center staff participated in civil society assessments of USAID programming in **Poland, Russia, and Ukraine**. Center staff participated and presented at a meeting of the Democracy Network and NGO development program directors in Budapest.

Field Support. In addition to those missions mentioned above, G/DG staff was directly involved, both in the field and from Washington, in assisting missions in the development of DG strategies and the assessment of the civil society environment.

- The Center participated on a civil society assessment team for the **Central Asian Republics** mission. The team made specific recommendations for programmatic adjustments, and has been providing comments on the mission's new overall DG strategy. The Center directly assisted the **Zimbabwe** mission in the design of its DG country strategy. Civil society in Zimbabwe was also bolstered through G/DG financial support, through CEPPS, to the Legal Resources Foundation, a local NGO that has been at the forefront of the human rights struggle.
- Center IQCs provided rapid-response technical expertise to support civil society programs of missions and regional bureaus. This included developing guidelines for media coverage of the **Palestine** Legislative Council and for the production, use, and distribution of the council's own

video and audio recordings in order to ensure maximum transparency of council operation. The implementing mechanisms were also used to increase the contacts among 750 **Malian** local community organizations and NGOs, federations, and associations; to design and implement a policy advocacy training program for **Salvadoran** NGOs; to improve financial management systems of NGOs in the **West Bank/Gaza**; and, in **Bolivia**, to conduct an assessment of the capacity of civil society organizations for a program in advocacy training. In **DROC**, Center mechanisms supported struggling Congolese civil society organizations by providing access to information, training, and international networks through an independent resource center. Some 100 people visit the center each day, facilitating internal dialogue.

Program Management/Direct Development Impact. A new cooperative agreement will institutionalize arrangements with one or more partners at the central level to build capacity within the partnering organization and to facilitate bi-lateral mission access to leading organizations with experience in building and supporting civic advocacy organizations. New civil society IQCs have been awarded.

G/DG is in the fourth year of a five-year, \$60 million grant to the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (Solidarity Center) to support organized labor's participation in the advancement of democratic governance and economic growth in more than 32 countries. The Solidarity Center conducted 924 separate programs involving the participation of 126,842 workers. Programs range from civic education and women's empowerment to economic restructuring and HIV/AIDS prevention. In addition, the Solidarity Center trained 11,000 workers to become paralegals, negotiators, media specialists, researchers, and election monitors. Another 33,000 workers participated in education programs ranging from basic literacy and economics to advanced courses in trade agreements and labor law. Finally, another 10,000 workers availed themselves of social safety net services provided by trade unions.

- Working in partnership with the **Malawi** Congress of Trade Unions, the Solidarity Center is building the first comprehensive database of child labor statistics in the country. Concurrently, the Center has developed a national network of unions, religious leaders, NGOs, and other representatives of civil society to plan a series of strategic planning workshops for building support for enforcement of national laws and providing new educational opportunities for child laborers.
- The recent national election in **Croatia** marked the first time that the trade union movement took an active role in the political election process. For example, the Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia launched a comprehensive campaign to spur its members to go to the polls and to vote, with activities including local radio ads, town hall meetings, and printed education materials. These activities were prominently featured in the media and the publicity was overwhelmingly positive and the election was generally deemed a success.
- A Center- and mission-funded program with the Solidarity Center encouraged the active participation of civil society in **Indonesia's** first democratic election in 44 years. Labor organizations played a crucial role in educating the general populace on electoral processes and voter rights, training and mobilizing more than 600,000 volunteers to monitor polls on election day, utilizing the mass media to raise awareness, and encouraging public participation in the formulation of new legislation.
- G/DG funding has supported the establishment of three schools for former child laborers or the children of garment workers in **Bangladesh**. These schools annually enroll 110 students, who range in age from 10-14, and provide an opportunity for literacy, education, and enhanced future employment potential that would otherwise be unavailable. In addition, the schools offer access to the parents, who are in turn educated by their children and by the staff, who meet with them regularly to discuss the children's progress and other issues such as civic education and women's rights.

- In the LAC region, Center partners have been instrumental in defining the agenda for emerging trade discussions, and in creating an understanding of the relationship between core labor standards and democratic economic development. With core funding from G/DG, the Solidarity Center is working to ensure the inclusion of worker rights and labor standards provisions in trade agreements throughout the Americas. Center-funded activities have included deepening the understanding of economic integration by union members and leaders, facilitating discussions among the diverse representatives of civil society, sponsoring strategy sessions, and developing technical, statistical, and educational materials.

4. *Performance and Prospects*

The Center made considerable progress in achieving its targets for the past year. Civil society IQCs were rebid and awarded, and applications in response to a request for proposals are expected by August 1, 2000. Field studies were completed and a paper drafted on lessons learned about civil society participation in economic reform in Africa. As a result of a G/DG grant, the Nation Institute drafted guidance on the legal and institutional requirements for supporting a free and independent media. An inventory and field assessments of USAID and other donor investments were completed, and assessments of USAID state-of-the-art strategies in civil society support were initiated. Two grants were awarded to the International Labor Rights Fund (funded by the Center, the LAC Bureau, and State/DRL) and to the newly established Fair Labor Association, which is a White House initiative funded through State/DRL.

Further progress was constrained by several unanticipated events. Except for the senior civil society technical advisor, this past year saw complete turnover of staff in this subject area. Thus, completion of some planned activities was delayed as considerable effort was exercised in recruiting and orienting new team members. The increased number of labor grants along with the demands on the Center's labor advisor to participate in Agency and inter-agency policy fora on international issues, served to slow work on other aspects of the Center's plans in the labor portfolio. Finally, developments in **Indonesia** required G/DG to reconfigure its priorities in the civil society area during this fiscal year. As a result, more attention was targeted toward direct field support to a mission considered a foreign policy priority by USG.

In 2001, the completion of a number of technical and strategic guidance papers will result in their publication and dissemination to USAID Missions, partners, and other donors. These will include a strategic framework for better integration of labor programs into donor program priorities; technical guidance on the design of advocacy support programs for NGOs; a paper on the minimum legal standards for free media; technical guidance on the design of civic education programs; strategic guidance on the design of civil society programs; and lessons learned in supporting civil society participation in economic reform. Dissemination of these publications will include training workshops in 2001-02 for USAID DG officers and partner organizations; seminars and conferences with other donors; and technical assistance from the Center in the design of mission strategies in these topic areas.

Increasing emphasis is likely to be placed on building and broadening coalitions among civil society organizations to define common agendas and draw in sectors of civil society that frequently have not been involved in such alliances. More attention will be directed at encouraging the participation of labor unions and professional associations in reform coalitions.

5. *Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies*

The Center's civil society implementing mechanisms comprise three grants and a cooperative agreement. Grantees are the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (Solidarity Center), the International Labor Rights Fund, and the Nation Institute. The cooperative agreement is with the Fair Labor Association. New IQC partners are Management Systems International (MSI) and Creative Associates International, Inc. Center-managed IQCs with MSI and World Learning were completed during the fiscal year.

Governance: National and local government institutions more openly and effectively perform public responsibilities

Citizens are rightly concerned with a government's responsiveness to their needs and protection of their rights. In general, governance issues pertain to the ability of government to develop an efficient, effective, and accountable public management process that is open to citizen participation and that strengthens rather than weakens a democratic system of government. Because citizens lose confidence in a government that is unable to deliver basic services, the degree to which a government is able to carry out its functions at any level is often a key determinant of a country's ability to sustain democratic reform.

USAID is particularly concerned with democratic governance—that is, the political dimensions of the public management process. The process of governing is most legitimate when it is infused with democratic principles such as transparency, pluralism, citizen involvement in decision-making, representation, and accountability. To focus USAID's governance programming, the Center has concentrated on the following five areas: legislative strengthening, decentralization and democratic local governance, anti-corruption, civil-military relations, and improving policy implementation.

In the past, governance issues were too often tackled in a strictly technical way with attention paid solely to improvements in administration and service delivery in spite of the fact that political issues underlay the poor performance. The result was a lot of failed public administration, decentralization, and civil service reform projects. Solely technocratic solutions to problems are now highly suspect, and the goal is to reorient such programs in order to maximize the democratic aspect of governance in order to achieve lasting results. So, for example, improving fiscal budget techniques and systems is now matched with a concern for the transparency of the budget process so that people can participate in budget decisions and government is held accountable for its spending.

1. Program Status

The Center made significant progress this year in the governance sector. It worked closely with State to help advance the USG's objectives in fighting global corruption, and was actively involved in State's four priority DG countries, particularly in **Indonesia, Nigeria, and Ukraine**. The *USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening* and *Decentralization and Democratic Local Governance Programming Handbook* were published, while *A Handbook on Fighting Corruption* continued to be in high demand.

2. Statement of Purpose

The Center works to identify lessons learned and to introduce and fortify strategic approaches for curbing corruption in government, strengthening legislative bodies, promoting decentralization and democratic local governance, enhancing civilian oversight of the military, and improving the management of policy reform. The objective is based on the assumption that democracies can only be sustainable if they are responsive, accountable, and transparent to the people they serve. G/DG's work helps inform the over 50 missions that have governance-related strategic objectives. It is carried out through the design and management of new buy-in mechanisms; the design and implementation of activities that will expand USAID's knowledge base and/or seed larger, mission-funded efforts; the development of technical outreach materials; and field support, including both TDY and Washington backstop assistance.

3. Key Results

Foreign Policy. While all five governance sub-sectors contribute to USG democracy promotion objectives, it is the Center's work in anti-corruption that has received the most notice within the broader USG community. G/DG has also supported good governance in State's four priority DG countries.

- The Center has been an active player in the USG's anti-corruption campaign. It coordinated USAID's input into a State exercise to develop regional anti-corruption strategies; contributed to a series of State-led discussions between the World Bank and USG officials; and participated regularly in the senior-level, inter-agency group charged with follow-up to Vice President Al Gore's anti-corruption conference. In one indication of G/DG's added value, a Center-chaired intra-agency group expanded this year into an inter-agency group when State and Treasury asked to be included. G/DG has been one of the forces shaping the USG view of corruption as a economic development issue and not just a crime problem.
- The Center made significant contributions to the achievement of USG foreign policy objectives at the 9th International Conference on Corruption in Durban, South Africa. G/DG staff represented USAID's interests at USG inter-agency planning meetings, coordinated the participation of over 20 USAID Missions, and assured USAID a highly coveted speaking role. Perhaps more importantly, the Center organized a half-day session, "Corruption as a Development Issue," for the USG delegation. It was the only event planned for the entire USG delegation and over 60 delegates attended, including representatives from State, Treasury, and the Office of Government Ethics. In a separate effort at the conference, G/DG worked with AFR Bureau, the U.N. Development Programme, and NDI to organize a caucus of African participants. The caucus invigorated the anti-corruption principles that the Global Coalition for Africa had announced earlier in the year at the vice president's anti-corruption conference.
- The Center made tangible contributions to the achievement of U.S. foreign policy objectives in State's four priority DG countries. In **Indonesia**, Center staff conducted a corruption assessment that helped inform the Indonesia strategy. G/DG also provided the funding mechanism for and considerable backstopping support to the OTI-funded program to strengthen civilian control over the military. When a democratic transition was initiated in **Nigeria**, Center staff and a G/DG-managed mechanism enabled a rapid and much-lauded response to a request for training of newly elected government officials. The Center also arranged for a corruption assessment in Nigeria that will take place in the year ahead and provided advice to the OTI-funded program to strengthen control over the military. It is through a G/DG-managed mechanism that USAID has been able to claim success in the fight against corruption at the local level in **Ukraine**. The Center also supports a local chapter of Transparency International (TI) in Ukraine, as well as in **Colombia**. A corruption assessment that was completed in Colombia drew heavily from the G/DG-developed assessment methodology.

Technical Expertise. In FY 1999, the Center published and disseminated a number of technical publications, held several dissemination workshops, and provided a series of training courses in the governance field. The aim of G/DG's technical outreach was to promote best practices, share lessons learned, and provoke discussion of important governance issues.

- The Center published its *Decentralization and Democratic Local Governance Programming Handbook* and its *USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*. Both handbooks provide methodologies for assessing the state of the sub-sectors in host countries, a framework for deciding upon the optimal program entry point(s) into a subsector, and programming ideas. G/DG's *A Handbook on Fighting Corruption* continues to be in extremely high demand with a steady stream of requests coming in from other donors, NGOs, and foreign governments.
- The Center launched a series of booklets, which provide overviews of USAID programs in anti-corruption, implementing policy change, decentralization and democratic local governance, and legislative strengthening, to provide USAID officers with programming ideas from other countries and others with a better sense of USAID's achievements.
- Through a cooperative agreement with NDI, G/DG supported the establishment of a website dedicated to expanding access to knowledge on the security field. The website (www.pdgs.org.ar) has more than 200 documents, 85 links, and three language options.

- Workshops to promote improved decentralization and democratic local governance programs were held in **Armenia** and **Ukraine**. A similar workshop was held in Paris for mission directors from AFR Bureau and Haiti. This latter workshop contributed as well to improved U.S.-French cooperation on decentralization issues.
- During its 1999 DG Officers Training Workshop the Center offered highly acclaimed courses in anti-corruption, implementing policy change, legislative strengthening, and decentralization and democratic local governance.

Field Support. G/DG provided extensive support to a number of field missions over the year, both through TDYs and Washington-based assistance.

- The Center conducted or arranged for the conduct of anti-corruption assessments in Indonesia, Lebanon, Madagascar, Morocco, Paraguay, the Philippines, and Thailand. These assessments fed directly into USAID programming decisions.
- G/DG provided five weeks of TDY support to **Bulgaria** during a critical period. Other countries benefiting from Center TDYs included Bolivia, Indonesia, Lebanon, Mali, Namibia, Paraguay, the Philippines, Tanzania, and Thailand.
- Support from Washington was extensive. It included numerous responses to requests for advice; reviews of strategies and statements of work; and assistance in contractual matters, especially related to the use of G/DG implementing mechanisms.
- The Center established a e-mail network for those interested in decentralization and democratic local governance issues. It reaches some 100 officers in Washington and the field, and is complemented by a quarterly intra-agency meeting on decentralization and democratic local governance.

Program Management/Direct Development Impact. In addition to the IQC buy-ins it manages in order to facilitate rapid start-ups and quality design and implementation work in the field, G/DG has several small activities of its own. Most of these are related to the realization of the technical outreach agenda described above but, as much of the technical work is done through Center-managed IQCs, the activities often have the added benefit of strengthening the capabilities of the contractors who are available to missions through buy-ins. For instance, the contractor under the Implementing Policy Change project (IPC) has conducted extensive analytical work on behalf of G/DG (see <http://ipc.msi-inc.com>). This analytical work has an independent value to DG practitioners and, at the same time, the familiarity with the methodologies that have arisen out of the analytical work has helped to make the IPC contract an exceptionally popular Center mechanism. To extend this example, the Center did not fund the successes achieved through the IPC buy-in in Ukraine and Bulgaria¹ but G/DG-funded analytical work that the contractor conducted previously certainly laid the groundwork for those successes.

G/DG obligates a limited amount of its funds to direct implementation. Through a grant to TI, for instance, the Center supports the institutional development of the organization's local chapters in nine countries: Bangladesh, Benin, Bulgaria, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ghana, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, and Ukraine. The activity, which provides no more than \$60,000 for each chapter, creates model chapters in each region of USAID activity and help transfers lessons learned. The **Colombia** chapter has been a leader in implementing "integrity pacts" whereby contractors bidding on selected construction projects sign bonds to forego bribery. The **Bangladesh** chapter has established its own website and assisted with web development in India and Nepal. All chapters actively seek to raise the profile of the corruption issues in their respective countries.

¹ In Ukraine, the contractor assists a successful local-level, anti-corruption program. One success is the \$65 million investment a U.S. firm is making thanks to a public-private partnership that the contractor helped establish to fight corruption. In Bulgaria, the contractor facilitated an effective dialogue between the government and the business community on policy-related issues, and helped increase citizen satisfaction with local government services.

The Center has requested NDI to expand its G/DG-funded portfolio to include (in addition to case studies and technical studies) small pilot activities to increase civilian control over the military. The purpose will be to learn and demonstrate lessons that could be applied to larger activities, to attract field mission interest in funding the larger activities, and to establish a collaborative, complementary relationship with Department of Defense (DOD) programs.

4. *Performance and Prospects*

The Center is proud of the achievements outlined above and believes they represent an extremely productive year, particularly when one takes into account that the governance team has only six full-time staff and five sub-sectors of responsibility. New IQCs were awarded. A successful Second International Conference on Legislative Strengthening brought together some 165 host-country legislators and staff, implementing partners, USAID DG officers, and representatives from other international donors, academics, and other interested parties. Hailing from some 30 nations, participants devoted four days to understanding legislatures' function of representation and determining how various political, structural, and institutional factors affect representation.

G/DG expects that anti-corruption will continue to be a busy sub-sector with recurrent short-fused deadlines. The Center intends to maintain its reputation as a source of "cutting edge" technical advice to USAID Missions and its active role in both international donor and USG inter-agency settings. To better serve field needs, G/DG is discussing a grant modification with TI that will enable missions to call on TI assistance in the institutional development of local anti-corruption organizations. G/DG will also complete and disseminate the lessons learned from four anti-corruption case studies.

Decentralization and democratic local governance, and legislative strengthening are relatively mature sub-sectors for which missions have a lesser need for urgent advice. Here, the Center will focus on an occasional papers series that addresses key issues. The first legislative strengthening paper will consider the differences between parliamentary and presidential systems and the implications for USAID programming. The first decentralization paper will examine the factors that determine success in scaling up pilot activities.

Implementing policy change has reached a stage whereby G/DG can focus primarily on disseminating lessons learned—a focus that began in earnest this year. Technical work will concentrate on increasing the Center's understanding of how best to promote accountability and cross-sectoral linkages. A potential area of emphasis is the link between DG and effective programs to combat AIDS.

Given the threat that unaccountable militaries pose to emerging democracies, G/DG believes civil-military programs will become increasingly important to U.S. foreign policy. In the coming year, the Center will focus on building a collaborative relationship with DOD and strengthening USAID's ability to undertake programs that strengthen civilian capabilities to oversee the military.

Finally, the Center believes there is both a need and a demand for issues-based, cross-sectoral training. As such, it will develop a training module in corruption/decentralization and democratic local governance; and, resources permitting, conduct training in one region on the governance-related issues common to the region.

5. *Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies*

In FY 1999, the Center managed a task order under a contract with IRIS for four corruption case studies, a cooperative agreement with NDI for a civil military program, and a grant to TI for anti-corruption activities. The Center also managed six IQCs: three for governance [Associates in Rural Development (ARD), Casals and Associates, and Development Alternatives, Inc. (DAI)]; one for legislative strengthening [the Research Institute of the State University of New York (SUNY)]; one for decentralization [Research Triangle Institute (RTI)]; and one for policy change [Management Systems International (MSI)]. New IQCs are for anti-corruption (MSI and Casals and Associates), policy reform (MSI and DAI), legislative strengthening (SUNY and Development Associates), and decentralization (ARD and RTI) were awarded.

ANNEX A

G/DG Strategic Framework

SSO 1 Rule of Law	SSO 2 Elections and Political Processes	SSO 3 Civil Society	SSO 4 Governance
Legal systems operate more effectively to embody democratic principles and protect human rights	Political processes, including elections, are competitive and reflect the will of an informed citizenry	Informed citizens' groups effectively contribute to more responsive government	National/local government institutions more openly and effectively perform their public responsibilities
INDICATORS	INDICATORS	INDICATORS	INDICATORS
1.1 Countries implementing legal systems reform programs. <i>(Legal Reform/Codification of Human Rights)</i>	2.1 Countries with fully codified electoral laws and regulations that conform with international standards. <i>(Impartial Electoral Framework)</i>	3.1 A legal framework to protect and promote civil society ensured. <i>(Enabling Environment)</i>	4.1 Governments articulate and sponsor anti-corruption measures. <i>(Governmental Integrity)</i>
1.2 Countries implementing court administration programs. <i>(Administration of Justice)</i>	2.2 Countries with independent electoral commissions operating effectively. <i>(Credible Electoral Administration)</i>	3.2 Increased citizen participation in the policy process and oversight of public institutions. <i>(Advocacy)</i>	4.2 Local-level governments improve democratic processes. <i>(Democratic Decentralization)</i>
1.3 Countries introducing mechanisms to expand access of women and poor and other marginalized populations to legal systems. <i>(Access to Justice)</i>	2.3 Countries reporting effective oversight of elections through domestic and/or international monitoring and independent media coverage. <i>(Effective Oversight of Electoral Processes)</i>	3.3 Increased institutional and financial viability of civil society organizations. <i>(Sustainability)</i>	4.3 Legislative bodies improve their effectiveness and accountability. <i>(Legislative Strengthening)</i>
	2.4 Countries meeting targeted increases in citizen participation in elections through voter education and mobilization efforts. <i>(Informed and Active Citizenry)</i>	3.4 Enhanced free flow of information. <i>(Media)</i>	4.4 Countries progress toward effective civilian control over the national military. <i>(Civil-military)</i>
	2.5 Countries with political parties organized to represent a broad constituency through internal democratic processes. <i>(Representative and Competitive Multiparty System)</i>	3.5 Strengthened democratic political culture. <i>(Civic Education)</i>	4.5 Countries effectively manage policy implementation. <i>(Policy Implementation)</i>
	2.6 Countries meeting targeted increases in political participation by women and disadvantaged groups. <i>(Inclusion of Women and Disadvantaged Groups)</i>		
	2.7 Countries in which political power is peacefully transferred following elections through established transition processes. <i>(Well-Established Procedures for Transfers of Power)</i>		

Rule of Law	Elections and Political Processes	Civil Society	Governance
INTERMEDIATE RESULTS	INTERMEDIATE RESULTS	INTERMEDIATE RESULTS	INTERMEDIATE RESULTS
<p>1.1 Legal reform methodologies developed and applied.</p> <p>1.2 Development of improved AOJ models.</p> <p>1.3 Development of models for increased access to legal systems.</p>	<p>2.1 USAID methodology (revised manual) for providing assistance in elections administration, local elections, and post-election training developed and applied.</p> <p>2.2 Revised manual with new section and supporting field documents on assistance to strengthen political parties developed and utilized.</p> <p>2.3 Center assistance mechanism for promoting inclusion of women and disadvantaged groups in electoral and political processes is utilized.</p> <p>2.4 Center assistance mechanisms for strengthening elections and political processes in countries are used.</p>	<p>3.1 Program guidance/field support provided and employed for</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Building an enabling environment conducive to strong civil society - Strengthening civil society organizations' ability to participate in policy advocacy and oversight - Strengthening civil society financial management, administrative, and organizational capabilities - Increasing independent sources of citizen information, improving media reporting and strengthening media management - Expanding and improving civic education <p>3.2 Selected unions strengthened.</p>	<p>4.1 Anti-corruption models developed and applied.</p> <p>4.2 Prototype strategies for effecting democratic decentralization developed and applied.</p> <p>4.3 Legislative strengthening models and guidelines developed and applied.</p> <p>4.4 Model methodologies for promoting civil-military relations at different stages of political transition developed and applied.</p> <p>4.5 Model methodologies for anticipating and managing change affecting governance developed and applied.</p>
INDICATORS	INDICATORS	INDICATORS	INDICATORS
<p>1.1 Missions using code reform manual.</p> <p>1.2 Missions use case management methodology.</p> <p>1.3 Missions utilizing alternative dispute resolution models.</p>	<p>2.1 Missions using USAID methodology for providing assistance in elections administration, local elections, or post elections training.</p> <p>2.2 Missions using guidance on assistance to strengthen political parties.</p> <p>2.3 Missions/embassies using the Center's mechanism to promote increased political participation of women and disadvantaged groups.</p> <p>2.4 Missions using Center assistance mechanisms for strengthening of elections and political processes.</p>	<p>3.1 DG officers exhibit knowledge of civil society issues, programming options, and best practices; mission program investments shaped accordingly; field support and buy-in levels are significant.</p> <p>3.2 Internal processes of select labor groups are more democratic; select labor unions are more effectively engaged in advocating for democratic processes in government.</p>	<p>4.1 Missions using approaches for anti-corruption objective.</p> <p>4.2 Missions using democratic decentralization prototypes.</p> <p>4.3 Missions using legislative strengthening models and guidelines.</p> <p>4.4 Missions using policy change models.</p> <p>4.5 Missions using model methodologies for promoting civil-military relations.</p>

ANNEX B

Status of G/DG Authorized Non-presence Country Activities

The ESF process, particularly for the ANE and AFR regions, places a significant demand on Center staff. New policy guidance on non-presence countries will streamline the approval process prior to obligation; however, the analytical foundation and justification for activities in non-presence countries must still be completed since the Center and our partners bear management and implementation responsibility for activities carried out through our mechanisms.

New and On-going Activities—AFR

Cote d'Ivoire

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Activities suspended due to military coup in December 1999.

Grantee trained political parties in parliament on constitutional reform.

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Activities suspended due to military coup in December 1999.

Building on its experience providing technical assistance to Cote d'Ivoire's parliament, the CEPPS mechanism received additional funding in FY 1999 to evaluate preparations for the 2000 general elections. Cote d'Ivoire's government had scheduled presidential and legislative elections for October and November 2000, respectively. In December 1999, CEPPS organized two assessment missions—one focusing on election administration and the other on political party dynamics—to examine the broader political environment and determine core obstacles to an open and peaceful electoral process. The assessment missions found that limited efforts had been made to address previously identified weaknesses in the electoral system; they also concluded with recommendations for improving the pre-elections environment. Following the visit, a military coup toppled the government of President Henri Konan Bedie. In response, the United States suspended all assistance to the government of Cote d'Ivoire. Both NDI and IFES, leaders of the two missions, continue to monitor the situation with an eye toward resuming assistance in support of the transition government's efforts to hold a constitutional referendum and follow-through with the elections.

Djibouti

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Continuing/On-track

Though troubled by ethnic strife and dominated by the executive branch, Djibouti's government is, according to State, open to democratic principles and opportunities for change. Elections held in April 1999 presented an opportunity for working with reformers in the executive branch to promote improved governance and transparency. Reformers, together with civil society activists, are striving to exercise their independence and promote greater respect for human rights, executive accountability, and tolerance among political opponents.

CEPPS received funding in FY 1999 for activities to strengthen Djibouti's democratic institutions. One activity will focus on technical assistance to the newly-created executive office ombudsperson. CEPPS will also provide support for activities to strengthen checks and balances across the government and to increase broader civic and political participation in government. A third activity will provide technical assistance and training for human rights monitoring to the Djiboutian Human Rights League. Anticipated results include foundations for increased oversight and accountability of the executive branch, as well as strengthened capacity of civil society organizations to monitor and report human rights violations.

Lesotho

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Completed

Funding enabled the participation of several U.S. monitors on the U.N. international election observer delegation in May 1998.

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Continuing/On-track

The elections scheduled for 2000 are considered critical for Lesotho's democratization process. CEPPS received FY 1999 funds to help establish a more transparent electoral system, which the government hopes will prevent a recurrence of the violence that followed the 1998 elections. CEPPS will train political parties to develop campaign strategies, reach out to constituents, and communicate issues effectively. The objective of this training is to help parties become more accountable to the electorate and motivate broader voter participation. CEPPS will also assist local monitors conduct parallel vote tabulation, a process that can instill greater voter confidence in the electoral system.

Sierra Leone

Grantee: MSI

Status: Completed

Grantee conducted a national seminar on the role of the armed forces and provided technical assistance to the executive on security sector policy.

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Continuing/On-track

In July 1999, the government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone signed a peace agreement, which includes a provision for national elections to be held within 16 months following the establishment of a national electoral commission. Using ESF funds, CEPPS/IFES began a new program to 1) assess the state of election preparations; 2) develop recommendations for strengthening elections administration and the electoral process; 3) assess the state of existing political parties; and 4) develop recommendations for strengthening national political processes and political parties. The first two activities have been conducted in coordination with the United Kingdom's Department for International Development.

The assessment teams visited Sierra Leone in December 1999 and February 2000 to identify several fundamental issues that must be resolved before elections can proceed. The CEPPS/IFES team recommended the creation of a consultative committee as a key step in developing a consensus-based framework for the electoral process. CEPPS/IFES and DFID staff returned to Sierra Leone in February and April 2000 to assist with the development of the committee and prepare for a roundtable of registered political parties and civil society representatives. A final report on the two missions is being prepared.

Swaziland

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Completed

Grantee conducted assessment mission in August 1998.

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Continuing/On-track

In May 1999, CEPPS/NDI began a program to support the constitutional reform process in Swaziland by exposing officials to constitutional development models in other countries and by continuing activities to train local government councilors. While NDI organized a successful study mission to Botswana for Swazi political and civic leaders, the institute has terminated the training portion of the program. An

inability to solidify a partnership with the Swazi Ministry of Housing and Urban Development led to this decision. NDI will use funding from the training activity to expand the constitutional study component; a second study tour to Morocco is planned. NDI is also printing and distributing the Botswana study mission report.

New and On-going Activities—ANE

Afghanistan

Grantee: UNCHS

Status: Continuing/On-track

In 1998, after several years of conflict and widespread destruction, the Taliban brought much of the Afghani central highlands under its control. In the process, homes were looted and torched, crops destroyed, thousands killed, and human rights abused. Those who had not fled to Iran or Pakistan for good returned to piles of rubble where their villages once stood. Notwithstanding the devastation, UNCHS was able to establish a presence in several of the villages and assist in institutionalizing community fora to provide local services (especially reconstruction) and some measure of self-government. Indeed, members of several community fora successfully defended the UN-assisted programs when Taliban threatened to destroy them. Any progress in supporting democratic self-government in Afghanistan would (1) diminish the reach of Taliban's authoritarian rule and (2) establish some basis for a future free and democratic Afghanistan.

Algeria

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Completed

Grantee conducted a post-election assessment from March 5 to 10, 1998.

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Continuing/On-track

CEPPS/NDI launched a parliamentary assistance program for Algeria's People's National Assembly in October 1999. The program, originally scheduled to begin in September 1998, had been postponed due to the April 1999 presidential election. After starting, it was suspended when Algeria's government refused to grant visas to NDI staff. NDI restructured the program to bring journalists to the United States for training on election reporting. The Algerian government has now issued visas, and NDI plans to conduct workshops for parliament's six main party groups. The workshops focus on developing members' internal and external communication skills. G/DG has granted the program an extension through December 31, 2000.

Grantee: ACILS

Status: Continuing/Not meeting expectations due to difficult political environment

Implementation of the labor program through G/DG's grant to ACILS (the Solidarity Center) is ongoing, although the highly politicized environment in Algeria has slowed progress. The program is designed to improve the institutional capacity of unions to carry out their representational function and better defend worker rights; decentralize union structures by giving more training to local and regional leaders; empower working women and develop a strategy to integrate women in their trade unions; improve unions and other civil society actors' capacity to monitor and document worker rights violations; and expose leaders to counterpart unions and begin an information exchange. A Solidarity Center representative visited Algeria in February 2000 to lay out a series of steps to achieve program goals. A report on the trip is being prepared.

Iraq

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Continuing/On-track

State has requested USAID assistance in implementing its program of support to democratic opposition groups in northern Iraq. FY 1999 ESF funds will be used to assess the prospects for supporting and strengthening democratic institution building. Proposed activities include planning and fact-finding with relevant members of the Iraqi opposition, with the possibility of an assessment mission to Iraq. A written report analyzing the prospects for democratic institution building will be the principal product of the study.

Laos

Grantee: IDLI

Status: Continuing/On-track

USAID provided assistance through IDLI to work with 10 Lao experts from the judiciary and the Ministry of Justice to pen and edit a judicial benchbook on economic legal issues. The book, a composite of Lao laws, was completed in July 1999 and published in Lao, English, and French. The publications were presented to all judges through a series of training workshops. The program provided judges with guidelines for how to address economic issues—guidelines that heretofore had not existed. Results of the training are 1) improvements in the quality of judicial rulings vis-a-vis economic affairs, 2) exposure of those in the justice sector to the importance of ROL, and 3) a beginning of the slow process of stimulating demand for judicial independence and professionalization. The final phase of this project started in February 2000 with the participation of two benchbook authors in a five-week enterprise and investment lawyers course.

Oman

Grantee: IDLI

Status: Continuing/On-track

Based on a needs assessment conducted in January 1999, IDLI organized two ROL training programs. The training included a judicial training of trainers component to build Omani judicial expertise and indigenous training capacity. “The Role of the Basic Law in Developing the Legal System in Oman” was held in October 1999 and “Legal Prevention and Judicial Control of Corruption” was held in November 1999. In addition to the training, 12 Omani judges received fellowships to IDLI courses. IDLI is working with Omani officials and the U.S. Embassy in Oman to develop further training.

Papua New Guinea

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Continuing/Delayed due to political conditions

The objective of the CEPPS/IFES program is to build professionalism within the electoral commission, strengthen the commission’s administrative capacity, support the design and development of training materials and programs for polling place officials, and improve transparency in the elections process in New Guinea’s province of Bougainville. Elections planned for April 1999 were cancelled after the Election Commission of Papua New Guinea cited them as extra-constitutional. The elections have not been rescheduled, and IFES’ technical assistance remains in the planning and preparation stages.

Thailand

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Continuing/On-track

CEPPS/NDI provided training and technical assistance to Pollwatch, a Thai organization created to support free and fair elections, in preparation for spring 2000 elections. NDI advised Pollwatch on developing an election-monitoring manual and hosted a workshop in October 1999 to review the manual.

In addition, NDI coordinated with the Election Commission of Thailand, Pollwatch's regional networks, and the Solidarity Center to host a training workshop for monitors of the October 1999 municipal elections.

With senatorial elections scheduled for March 2000 and general elections expected soon after, G/DG granted NDI an extension through June 2000 to complete a post-election conference. The conference will bring together trainers and advisors who previously worked with Pollwatch to evaluate the monitoring process and discuss next steps for the regional networks.

Yemen

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Continuing/On-track

CEPPS/NDI has created a program to strengthen the legitimacy of the parliament by promoting greater communication between legislators and the Yemeni people. In the fall of 1999, the program became fully operational. The IFES team developed a detailed training program for Supreme Elections Committee (SEC) staff and presented an Arabic translation of the August 1999 management study to the SEC. It also provided information on voter registration options to the parliament and advised donors on the challenges of organizing local government elections that may take place in 2001. Training will continue throughout 2000, and IFES will also organize a program of election commission study tours for SEC members.

Completed Activities

Asia regional women's rights program

Grantee: TAF

Status: Completed

Grantee strengthened a regional network of women's organizations to protect the rights of women.

Venezuela

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Completed

Grantee organized a conference on political party and campaign financing.

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Completed

Grantee monitored local and national elections in November and December 1998.

Togo

Grantee: CEPPS

Status: Completed

Grantee conducted a pre-election assessment in spring 1999.

ANNEX C

G/DG Technical Publication Series

PN-ACB-895	Alternative Dispute Resolution Practitioners Guide
PN-ACC-887	Civil-military Relations: USAID's Role
PN-ACH-300	Decentralization and Democratic Local Governance Programming Handbook
PN-ACD-395	Democracy and Governance: A Conceptual Framework
PN-ACC-390	Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators
PN-ACE-070	A Handbook on Fighting Corruption
PN-ACF-631	Managing Assistance in Support of Political and Electoral Processes
PN-ACE-630	The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach
PN-ACF-632	USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening
PN-ACE-500	USAID Political Party Development Assistance
	Conducting a DG Assessment: A Framework for Strategy Development (Advance Copy)

ANNEX D

Guide to Acronyms

ACE	Administration and Costs of Election Project
ACILS	American Center for International Labor Solidarity (Solidarity Center)
AFR	Africa
ANE	Asia and Near East
APP	Agency Performance Plan
APR	Agency Performance Report
CDIE	USAID/PPC/Center for Development Information and Evaluation
CEPPS	Consortium for Elections and Political Processes Strengthening
DG	Democracy and Governance
DOD	Department of Defense
DRL	U.S. Department of State/Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor
DROC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
E&E	Europe and Eurasia
ESF	Economic Support Funds
GLJI	Great Lakes Justice Initiative
G/WID	USAID/G/Office of Women in Development
G/WIP	Global Women in Politics Program
ICITAP	International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program
IFES	International Foundation for Election Systems
IPC	Implementing Policy Change Project
IRI	International Republican Institute
Justice	U.S. Department of Justice
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
Labor	U.S. Department of Labor
MFR	Managing for Results
MSI	Management Systems International
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NEP	New Entry Professional
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NSC	National Security Council
OTI	USAID/BHR/Office of Transition Initiatives
OYB	Operating Year Budget
PDD	Presidential Decision Directive
PPC	USAID/Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination
ROL	Rule of Law
SSO	Strategic Support Objective
State	U.S. Department of State
TAF	The Asia Foundation
TDY	Temporary Duty Assignment
TI	Transparency International
UNCHS	U.N. Center for Human Settlements
USG	U.S. Government
USIA	U.S. Information Agency (now the Office of International Information Programs at State)



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